

ONE YEAR  
OF  
UNION GOVERNMENT



ADDRESS  
OF  
HON. N. W. ROWELL

AT  
BOWMANVILLE, ONT.

*December 17, 1918*

CP3  
don

# One Year of Union Government



WHAT  
CANADA'S WAR ADMINISTRATION  
ACCOMPLISHED



ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CANADIAN  
ARMY



WHY LIBERALS JOINED IN FORMING  
UNION GOVERNMENT

"——The Liberal leaders . . . . had to face the issue of whether Party unity and personal considerations or **national** interests should be paramount. They chose, as Brown did, to place national interests first. History has already justified and more than justified Brown and Mowat's stand in 1864. It will equally justify the stand of the English-speaking Liberals of 1917"——

*Extract from address of Hon. N. W. Rowell,  
at Bowmanville, Ont., on December, 17, 1918*

Université d'Ottawa  
BIBLIOTHÈQUES



LIBRARIES  
University of Ottawa

# One Year *of* Union Government

HON. N. W. ROWELL'S ADDRESS AT BOWMANVILLE,  
DECEMBER 17TH, 1918.

I WISH to thank the electors of this Riding, both Liberal and Conservative, both men and women, for the splendid support you gave me a year ago to-day. Like the electors of other parts of Canada, you declared in favour of compulsory military service and Union Government by an overwhelming majority. The soldiers gave a still more emphatic approval. The soldiers' vote in Canada and overseas showed 93½% for Union Government as against 6½% for all others.

A year ago Canada was engaged in a life and death struggle with cruel and brutal Prussian militarism which was seeking to dominate the world, and after three years of terrific fighting the issue was still in doubt; the future of humanity hung in the balance. To-day we are rejoicing in the greatest victory in history. Prussian militarism has been decisively defeated; autocracy has been everywhere overthrown. Many peoples, for centuries oppressed, breathe the air of freedom for the first time.

A year ago this Nation was in the throes of a great internal struggle to secure additional men to send overseas to defend our homes and liberties. To-day a united people is in the midst of the preparations to welcome home our victorious troops. A year ago thousands of homes were in anxiety every hour; to-day thousands of homes are filled with joy at the prospect of the early return of their loved ones. A year ago the outlook for humanity was dark indeed; to-day we are at the dawn of a new era.

This marvellous change has been made possible by the victories of the Allied Arms in which Canada has so gloriously shared. The standard by which the Union Government must be judged, by which it must be justified or condemned, is this: Has Canada under Union Government in this supreme year of human history played her part worthily? Has she contributed her share to the attainment of these great results which have come, and could only come through victory and peace? All other questions are relatively of small moment. I shall recount the facts and leave the judgment with you.

## The Military Service Act.

THE outstanding pledge of the Government and the principal mandate it received from the people was to prosecute the war with vigour and to stand behind our gallant men by providing adequate reinforcements through the operation of the Military Service Act. The people of Canada were told a year ago, in most emphatic language, that to enforce the Act would be impossible; that the Government would not attempt it, and that to do so would disrupt Confederation. The view of many of us was that the Act

should be, and could be enforced, and that its enforcement was necessary to save Confederation. You are entitled to ask me to-night: How have you redeemed your pledge? Have you carried out the mandate you received? My answer is, Your mandate has been carried out to the letter. The Act has been enforced, and the unity of Confederation has been preserved. Our forces at the front have been maintained up to full strength, and over strength, during the whole of the present year, and never in the history of the Corps has it won such a series of splendid victories or struck such decisive blows for liberty and peace.

May I mention two reasons why the Corps has been able to achieve such success this year. Its ranks have always been kept up to strength, which could not have been done without the Military Service Act; and the men of the Corps were assured, by the vote a year ago to-day, that the people of Canada were wholeheartedly behind them; that the moral forces of the Nation were with them in their warfare against organized crime and wrong. Canada's prestige, not only on the field of battle, but among the nations of the world, is much higher to-day than it was a year ago, because of the work and achievements of our Corps and our other Canadian forces operating in France; and greater than all, Right has triumphed over Might. These magnificent results will have a decisive effect upon the whole course of our history. They were made possible, not only by the courage and patriotism of our Army in France, but also by the courage and patriotism of the people at home, who put country before personal or party considerations in the hour of their country's need.

I have promised to review to-night certain aspects of the Government's work and record during the past year. I shall deal principally with Canada's war effort. We have been able to assist the Allied cause during the year by providing men, munitions, food, ships and money. What is the record of the year on these vital matters?

### Provision of Men.

**W**E have fairly and impartially enforced the Military Service Act, and notwithstanding all opposition, and all difficulties, we have secured 83,355 men as reinforcements for overseas service, and in addition 24,933 men were called up for service, but released on compassionate grounds, or for other sufficient reasons. We have thus been able to fully redeem our pledge to provide adequate reinforcements for our troops throughout the whole year.

Owing to the situation on the Western Front, and on the advice of our Corps Commander, we strengthened the Corps both in personnel and equipment so that this year it was the most formidable single fighting unit on the whole Western Front. It was the only Corps among the Allied Forces in which the Divisions were kept up to full strength during the whole year. The increased strength of our fighting forces in France this year was not less than 20,000 men. Our Forestry and Railway Corps were also strengthened, and their work was never so extensive or efficient. We maintained in France, in all branches of the service, between 150,000 and 160,000 men, the largest and most effective force Canada has maintained during

any period of the war; a force equal in numbers to Great Britain's original expeditionary force of seven divisions. We supplied an ever-increasing number of men to the Royal Air Force, and our Canadian airmen have been unsurpassed in the skill and enthusiasm with which they have performed their difficult and dangerous tasks.

In addition to our effort in Europe, we organized and despatched a thoroughly efficient expeditionary force to Siberia to co-operate with the Allies and to assist the Czecho-Slovaks and the Russian people who were courageously battling against Germany's effort to dominate and control Siberia as she controlled Western Russia.

### The Situation Reviewed.

**I**N May when last I had the privilege of addressing you I explained the Government's proposals to meet the situation created by the German advance on the Western Front. Let me briefly review the situation in the light of the events which have since transpired. In the autumn and early winter of 1917-1918 the reports the Government received from the British Food Controller, Lord Rhonnda, and from the American Food Controller, Mr. Hoover, regarding the food situation in Europe, indicated that unless there was a great increase in production of food stuffs, both of grain and live stock, there was not only danger of a serious food shortage, but there was grave apprehension of famine, and that increased production was essential to the Allied success in the War. On the basis of this information a campaign for increased food production was inaugurated both in Canada and the United States, to which the farmers in both countries splendidly responded.

In view of the urgency of the food situation I pointed out in this Riding during the election campaign that in the national interests young men whose continued presence on the farm was essential to keep up production should be retained on the farm, not because they were farmers, but because the national interests required them on the farm rather than overseas; and I added that if exemption tribunals ignored this important consideration on the one hand or if they granted wholesale exemptions on the other the situation would be reviewed in order that the national interests might be conserved and the men who could best serve at home should be retained at home and the men required overseas should be sent overseas.

At the same time our information was that the Allies could hold the line on the Western Front if each nation did its part and kept up its forces until the United States could throw her full strength into the struggle.

### When Liberty Trembled in the Balance.

**I**N April 1918 the whole situation changed, not due to any action on the part of the Government, as some critics of the Government would like to suggest, but due to the action of the Kaiser and his armies. Germany proved herself much stronger than the Allies believed possible, and her terrific blows drove the French Army back toward Paris and the British Army back toward the Channel Ports. The situation was more critical than at any time since the outbreak of the war, and it then appeared possible,

notwithstanding all the sacrifices of the Allies in blood and treasure, that Germany might win. The cause of Liberty and Civilization trembled in the balance. The crucial question was, could sufficient men be provided, and provided in time, to stem the German advance and hold the line until the United States could throw her full strength into the struggle?

An urgent appeal was made by the military authorities for more men to meet this critical situation. We were informed that men were more needed than food, and our military authorities were consulted as to how we could get the additional men in time. They replied that if other classes were called up under the Military Service Act and they were compelled to go through the procedure of hearings before the exemption tribunals, and then appeals from the decisions of these tribunals, they could not possibly secure the additional men in time. We already had several months' experience in the operation of the Military Service Act, and it was obvious that the men who desired to take advantage of the appeals which the Military Service Act provided, could delay not only for weeks but for months the final decision of their cases, as was actually done in certain sections of the country. The military authorities, therefore, advised that the only way in which the additional men could be secured in time would be to abolish all exemptions in certain classes and to call men up for service without the necessity of hearings before exemption tribunals.

This whole question received the most earnest consideration of the Cabinet, covering some days. A Special Committee of the Cabinet looked into it fully, and their report confirmed the view of the Military authorities. The Government submitted the matter to both Houses of Parliament and both Houses declared by resolution that an Order-in-Council should be passed giving authority to the Government to abolish all exemptions, in order that the necessary men might be called to the colours immediately. It was not until after Parliament had been consulted, and Parliament had approved this course, that the Order-in-Council was passed abolishing exemptions in the case of men from twenty to twenty-two inclusive.

Any Government which would not change its plans or policy to meet and defeat the plans of the enemy would by such action prove itself incompetent and unworthy of confidence as a War Government. The supreme mandate given to the Government a year ago to-day was to mobilize the manpower and resources of Canada so as to strike the strongest and most effective blow against the enemy. In obedience to this mandate the Government by prompt and vigorous action, approved by Parliament, met the situation, and the necessary reinforcements were provided. The abolition of exemptions applied not only to young farmers who had been granted exemptions, but to all young men similarly situated in other essential industries, who had been granted exemption on the ground of national interests. Let me repeat that farmers' sons, or young men working on the farms, were treated exactly the same as those in other essential industries. Farmers do not wish to be treated differently simply because they are farmers. I know the patriotic farmers in this Riding would repudiate any suggestion that they did; they are prepared to defend their homes and liberties and the cause of civilization just as all other patriotic citizens are.

## Great Britain also Abolished Exemptions

**I**N November and December, 1917, upon the facts then disclosed, it was in the national interest that these young men should be retained on the farm, or occupied in other essential war industries. In April, 1918, owing to the unexpected turn of events, and the critical situation created by the successful German advance, it was in the national interest that the exemptions should be abolished, and these men called up for Military Service. The Government recognized that such a course would be unpopular, that such action would create hostility; but a Government which failed to do its duty in the face of the grave peril menacing Great Britain and Canada and the cause of Liberty would have been unworthy of the confidence which the people of Canada and the troops serving overseas manifested in that Government a year ago. Where is the man who says that Canada should have shirked her duty in those critical days, and tarnished her glorious record in this war for freedom?

All that I said to you of the seriousness of the situation when speaking here in May last was more than confirmed when we arrived in England and learned of the conditions as they existed in April and May, and as they still existed even in June. We found that notwithstanding the food shortage in Great Britain and the shortage of tonnage to bring food to Great Britain, the British Government had abolished all exemptions, not only of men from twenty to twenty-two, but of all men from eighteen to twenty-three inclusive, and they called up, while we were in England, some 30,000 young farmers for service in France. Later in the year, as the condition became less serious, many of these obtained leave for harvest purposes as did many of ours. The fact that in Ontario we have this year gathered one of the finest crops in our history without any serious loss from a shortage of labour is the best evidence that the action of the Government did not cripple the agricultural industry as it was predicted it would, and good crops in all Allied Countries have enabled us to meet the food shortage among the Allies without serious difficulty.

On the other hand, the prompt and vigorous action taken by the Government rendered certain that we should have adequate reinforcements no matter how serious the fighting our Canadian Corps might be compelled to face, and that they could undertake their tasks in absolute confidence that the Government and the people of Canada would stand behind them to the last. Prompt action by Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, in calling up men and sending them overseas without any delay, ensured the defeat of Germany and enabled the Allies to bring the war to a conclusion this year rather than in 1919 or 1920. Who can measure the saving in blood and treasure which this has meant to Canada alone? And what does the defeat of Germany mean to our humanity? It means the dawn of a new day. I know that some of you at the time did not agree with the course I took on this question—that I cannot help. I took the course I believed to be right, I am sure that you would not wish me to do otherwise, and I must continue to do so in the future no matter what the consequences may be.

## Munitions.

CANADA has been one of the largest producers of munitions in the Allied Countries. The business was carried on under the able direction of the Imperial Munitions Board, and came to us with so little apparent effort that we may fail to appreciate the magnitude or value of the industry which has contributed so largely to our industrial prosperity during the war. The Munitions industry has been maintained during the past year by means of credits supplied by the Government of Canada to the Government of Great Britain, and without these credits the industry would have ceased. Since the industry was established in Canada no less a sum than \$1,100,000,000 has been expended by the Imperial Government. Between 600 and 700 plants have been engaged in the manufacture of munitions and between 250,000 and 300,000 men and women have been employed. The growth of the munitions industry in Canada is a real industrial romance, and we are greatly indebted both to the manufacturers and the workmen for the magnificent result achieved. We have developed a trained body of industrial leaders and skilled workmen which should constitute one of our most valuable assets in the days of peace. The men who have achieved these results in the stress and strain of war should be able to grapple with, and solve, any industrial problems incident to the days of demobilization and of peace.

## Food.

WHILE without the necessary men and munitions the war could not be won, food was essential for the maintenance of our troops and those of Great Britain and our Allies, and to assist in feeding the civilian population of Great Britain. The agricultural interests of Canada responded magnificently to the appeal of the Government for increased production of food stuffs. This past year, notwithstanding the men we have given to the war, to the production of munitions, and to the building of ships, Canada cultivated the largest acreage in her history, the area under cultivation, according to the figures of the Dominion Statistician, being over 9,000,000 acres more than in the year 1917. In the Province of Ontario alone the estimated value of our field crops for the year is \$350,000,000, the largest in our history, and more than twice the value of our crops in the year 1913, the last year before the war. Through the creation and work of the Canada Food Board we have conserved large quantities of food and thus increased our exportable surplus.

## Shipbuilding.

DURING the year the Government has embarked upon a national shipbuilding programme. Over forty steel vessels for Government account are now under order, and the total estimated programme for this year and next aggregates \$60,000,000. All the Canadian shipyards are being maintained up to capacity, and the fleets of ships thus established will work in conjunction with the Government system of railways in providing water transportation upon our lakes and upon the high seas. The Government of Canada will have a system of rail and water transportation which will practically belt the globe.



In addition to our own shipbuilding programme the Government rendered substantial financial assistance to Great Britain to carry on the shipbuilding programme in Canada under the direction of the Imperial Munitions Board. Many vessels have been launched this year from Canadian shipbuilding yards, and Canada has thus not only assisted in the transportation of her own essential war supplies but also has contributed materially to combatting the German submarine menace.

It is estimated that the total tonnage of steel and wooden ships launched from Canadian shipyards this year will be approximately 346,000 tons, or about 40 per cent of the total tonnage of merchant ships launched in Great Britain last year.

### Finance.

**B**UT men, munitions, food and ships would be without avail unless the Government had the money to pay the men, to buy the munitions, food and ships, and to assist Great Britain in purchasing these essential supplies in Canada.

The Government pledged itself that wealth would be conscripted by taxation of war profits and increased taxation of income. This pledge also has been carried out. The Business War Profits Tax has been continued and broadened so as to include large numbers of industries which were hitherto exempt from its operation, and the tax was said to be one of the heaviest if not the heaviest imposed on business in any of the nations at war at the time our legislation was passed. The income tax has been greatly increased, so that to-day men earning substantial incomes, and who have been protected by the services of the men at the front, are compelled to bear a real and increasing share of the financial burden of the war and the state will receive a very substantial revenue from this source.

Other features of the Union Government's financial policy have been:—

The taxation of luxuries, which compels people who desire to purchase jewelry, high-priced automobiles, and other articles of luxury specified in the legislation, to pay a special tax on all such articles.

The prohibition of the importation of certain non-essential products, so as to keep our own money at home and help reduce our adverse trade balance with the United States.

The advance of many millions of dollars to Great Britain to enable her to purchase in Canada munitions, ships, food, and other essential commodities.

The control and stabilization of the money market in Canada by the regulation of the sale of securities and the maintenance of the market for our Victory Bonds.

The unique and astounding success of the Victory Loan, for which the total subscriptions amounted to \$687,000,000 or over 90 per cent of the total amount raised in all previous loans made by the Government of Canada. Had it not been for the financial provision made by last year's Victory Loan, essential products of the factory, shipyard and farm, could not have been marketed, nor could Canada's operations have been carried on, and this year's Loan will be required largely for similar purposes.

**If we consider the strength of our Military Forces, our munitions supplied, our lands cultivated, our ships built, and our money raised, Canada in the fourth year of the war, notwithstanding the wastage of man-power and resources during three years of struggle, put forth by far her greatest and most effective effort.**

## Achievements of Canada's Army Overseas.

**B**UT important and valuable as has been our home effort, the outstanding feature of Canada's contribution this year has been the achievements of our heroic troops in France. In the month of June last, shortly after we arrived in England, we had the opportunity of conferring with General Currie and of hearing him address a gathering of the Commanding Officers of our Forces in England. I shall never forget the speech he delivered; it reminded one of Abraham Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. He told of the critical situation then existing at the front, and of the threatened attack of the German Forces which was almost hourly expected. If the new attack attained anything like the degree of success which characterized the attacks in March, April and May, it might mean a still greater disaster to the Arms of the Allies because the French Army was already driven back toward Paris, and the British Army back toward the Channel Ports. General Currie said, On one thing you can absolutely depend; the Canadian troops will never retire; they will never give ground no matter how strong the forces Germany may bring against them, and if Germany takes the ground held by the Canadians it will only be by marching over the dead bodies of our Canadian soldiers. They were determined to fight and to die in defence of our homes and liberties.

Fortunately for Canada and the Allies, Germany delayed her attack until reinforcements by the hundreds of thousands had reached France from the United States, Great Britain and Canada; and when in July the attack was finally launched by Germany the position of the Allies had greatly improved and they had reserves at hand with which to make a counter-attack. When we saw our troops in France, three of the Divisions were out of the line in training for open warfare, as part of the Headquarters reserve to throw into the breach at the critical hour, to save the day or turn the tide should Germany make another terrific drive to break the British line. Fortunately they were not required for this service; but when in the early days of August the Allied Command decided to follow Foch's brilliant counter-stroke at the Marne by striking a blow at the German Forces in front of Amiens, who were chosen as the spearhead of that advance?—Our Canadian Corps.

The brilliant success which attended their efforts, and those of the British and other Forces associated with them, changed the whole aspect of the Military situation on the Western Front, changed the whole temper of the British people. Hope and confidence took the place of doubt and discouragement. The whole British Army turned its face toward the Rhine and commenced the march which did not end until this last month the British and Canadian troops actually crossed the Rhine and took up their positions in the occupied portions of Germany. But the victory at the Marne and in the front of Amiens were only the beginning of the final struggle. Between the British and French Forces and Germany stood the Hindenburg line which Germany believed to be invulnerable. She knew that she might be compelled to withdraw her troops from the area in front of this system of defence, but she was confident that once she got her troops behind this line no Allied Force could break through and no Allied foot should ever

stand behind these impregnable defences. Even when we left England there was no thought of our being able to break the Hindenburg line this year. All the plans were being made to endeavour to break it next year, but in view of the successes in front of Amiens, and elsewhere, the Allied Command decided to attempt to achieve what had hitherto been thought impossible, to break the Hindenburg line in 1918.

## Breaking Hindenburg Line

**W**HAT troops were chosen for this great and difficult task?—Our Canadian Corps; and after eight days of the most terrific fighting in the whole war they broke through the whole six systems of trenches which constituted the German defence, and our Canadian soldiers stood upon the soil which Germany thought was inviolate. The breaking of the Hindenburg line gave to our war-weary and war-cursed humanity a new hope that this war might really be terminated, and successfully terminated, this year.

It was the beginning of the end. In front of the Allied forces lay Cambrai and St. Quentin, great strategic centres from which radiated systems of railways essential to the support of Germany's armies at the front. Cambrai was protected by Bourlon Wood. If Germany could not hold Bourlon Wood and Cambrai she must retire, and she determined to hold them at all costs. Who went forth to the attack on Bourlon Wood and after fighting of the greatest severity drove the Germans from their positions and finally captured Cambrai? Our Canadian troops. Then followed the victory at Valenciennes and finally our gallant and victorious troops closed the campaign on the morning of the 11th of November, the day the armistice was signed, by capturing Mons, that historic spot where in August 1914 the British troops first came in contact with the enemy. In recognition of this achievement the Burgo-master and Town Council of Mons sent the following message of appreciation to our Government:—

"Mons was delivered from the German tyranny by the gallant Third Canadian Division on Monday the 11th November at five o'clock in the morning. The Council of the Borough and the whole population of the town avail themselves of this opportunity to assure the Government of the Dominion of their deepest admiration for the heroism of the Canadian people who in co-operation with our Allies have secured the liberation of the city, the independence of Belgium and the triumph of righteousness."

In considering the achievements of our Corps we must remember that Germany, knowing the quality of our troops and the vital positions which they were called upon to attack, always sent against them or put opposite them her best troops, and between August 8th and November 11th our Corps met and defeated forty-seven of Germany's finest divisions, one fourth of the entire German forces on the Western Front. As a distinguished Canadian officer wrote me, it was as if Canada had said to Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, France, Belgium and the United States, "You together look after three-fourths of the German army, and Canada will look after the other fourth." And Canada did.

## Unsurpassed in History.

**T**HE achievements of the Canadian troops in the series of battles from August 8th to November 11th are unsurpassed in history, and we will never be able to appreciate adequately how great and decisive have been these blows for liberty. I repeat, Canada in the last year of the war struck by far her greatest and most effective blows against the enemy, blows which brought perceptibly nearer the day of final victory and of peace.

I have spoken particularly of the work of the Corps. In every branch of the Service one could tell a similar tale. Our Cavalry Brigade has to its credit exploits not less stirring, and more successful than the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, and they share with the Corps the glory of the August battles. Our Railway Troops by their ability and expedition in providing means for transport largely made possible the rapid movement of our troops without which success could not have been achieved. Our Forestry Corps excelled all others in the cutting of timber, both in France and in Great Britain, and by their work materially reduced the German submarine menace because they released hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping for other necessary work which but for their efforts would have been required to transport timber to Great Britain and France. Our Army Medical Service, including our nursing sisters, with a courage, skill and capacity unsurpassed by any similar service, cared for the sick and wounded and nursed them back to life and health again. Each branch of the service has its own particular record of achievement.

For the successes achieved we have been compelled to pay the price in blood and treasure, but our casualties have been fewer in proportion to the forces engaged and the results achieved than in any year of the war. For those who have fallen on the field of honour may we not say, No man can die a more glorious death than in the service of his country and of humanity. To their friends a grateful country will extend its heartfelt sympathy and its warm appreciation of their unselfish and heroic service. For the men who have been maimed and broken in the struggle we pray that under the skillful ministry of our medical men and nursing sisters they soon may be restored to health and strength again.

Canada has won for herself a new name and a new place among the nations because of the valour, the sacrifices and achievements of our troops. I have no apologies to make for supporting every measure necessary to provide adequate reinforcements for these brave men to whom we owe so much and whose efforts and sacrifices have made possible the freedom, the security and the peace which we to-day enjoy.

## Country before Party.

**I**T was my privilege this year to visit the front and to go in and out among our troops, and you are entitled to know how deeply and sincerely they appreciated the support given to compulsory military service and to a union of the political forces of the country to carry such a law into effect. The men who conscientiously put Country before Party in order to support the men overseas and the cause for which they were fighting, will have just cause for

pride and satisfaction as they welcome home our victorious troops, knowing that they did the best they knew to back them up.

When overseas I chanced to meet a Nova Scotia Officer in one of our Hospitals who had been maimed and broken in the struggle, and who would never be well again. In most earnest language he expressed his gratitude for what Carvell, Maclean and other Liberal leaders had done in joining in the formation of a Union Government, and standing for compulsory military service. He stated that if there had been no Liberal leader in Canada prepared to join Sir Robert Borden in forming a Union Government to enforce compulsory military service, he would have been ashamed to return to Canada and call himself a Liberal; and he said thousands of other Liberals at the front shared his views.

While I have dwelt to-night upon the achievements of our Canadian troops I recognize that numerically they formed but a small portion of the total Allied forces on the Western Front, and one cannot speak too highly of the valour and achievements of the soldiers of Great Britain and the other nations of our Empire, or those of Belgium, France, and the United States. Each national force has brought imperishable glory to its own country and has made an invaluable contribution to the successful issue of this war.

Time will not permit of a discussion of the other important legislative and administrative acts of the Union Government. I shall mention but a few of the more important ones.

### Provision for our Soldiers.

WE have increased the pensions for our soldiers and their dependents; we have also increased the separation allowance to the wives and dependents of our soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. We are making generous provision for a war gratuity for our soldiers upon their discharge. We have created a Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, and plans and policies have been worked out for re-establishing the soldier in civil life. A Soldiers' Land Settlement Board has been appointed and plans have been worked out under which suitable land will be acquired for settlement by the soldiers, and the soldiers will be aided in establishing themselves on the land. The Department of Militia and Defence and the Overseas Ministry of Military Forces have worked out plans for demobilization so that so soon as the troops are released from their duties and transportation facilities are available, the men will be returned to Canada and restored to their homes and civil occupations. We have secured the establishment of Government employment bureaus throughout Canada to assist the soldiers and war workers to secure suitable employment. We have created a Repatriation and Employment Committee of the Cabinet under which the forces of the country are being organized thoroughly for the transfer of the nation from a war to a peace footing with the minimum of industrial and social disturbance, and, so far as I am aware, in no country at war are plans being more conscientiously or effectively worked out for the repatriation of our soldiers.

## Regulation of Trade and Limitation of Profits.

**W**E have dealt with the difficult and complicated trade situation growing out of the war so as to maintain our industrial efficiency and our domestic and foreign trade. This has been possible through the creation and work of our War Trade Board, our Canadian War Mission at Washington and our Canadian Trade Mission in London. We have limited the profits of the packers on their meats, of the millers on their flour, of the wholesale produce dealers on their foodstuffs, and of the coal men on their coal. These limitations are in important respects much more stringent than those imposed in the United States, and particularly as to the packers, more stringent than in any country at war. We have given to the Municipalities the power to investigate the cost of living and to fix prices.

## Government Ownership.

**W**E have completed the purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway and consolidated all the Government owned railways under a Board of Directors of business men who will operate the roads in the national interest. I hope we may shortly succeed in acquiring the Grand Trunk System and adding it to our Government Railways. We have placed the operation of the new Government steamships under this Board, so that Canada will own and operate one of the greatest transportation systems in the world. We have declared in favour of the Government ownership and development of the great water powers in the St. Lawrence River, which will mean so much to the industrial life of Canada, and plans are now being worked out for the development of the St. Lawrence system of navigation so that ocean going vessels may pass from the sea to the head of the great lakes.

## Social Progress.

**W**E have prohibited the importation, manufacture and inter-provincial trade of intoxicating liquor for the period of the war and one year thereafter. We have abolished patronage in appointments to the public service by extending the Civil Service Act to the Outside Service. We have also abolished patronage in the purchasing of all Government supplies by placing the purchasing for all Departments of the Government under a War Purchasing Commission of business men who recognize no political considerations in the transaction of business and whose sole concern is to expend the money of Canada in a way that will produce the best results. We have strengthened democracy in Canada by broadening the basis upon which our Government rests through the extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as men. **We are all debtors to the women for their war service.** We are providing, through the action of the State, for the acquirement and settlement of our unoccupied fertile lands now in the hands of private owners, thus increasing at the same time our rural population and our productive power as a nation.

We have recognized the invaluable contribution which labour has made to Canada's war effort, and policies have been worked out and adopted which will secure a larger measure of co-operation between employers and employees, and a large opportunity for the working man.

We have set apart the sum of \$25,000,000 for housing purposes, to be loaned to the Provinces to aid in the construction of up-to-date sanitary houses for workmen, particularly soldiers, so that they may obtain suitable homes at the cost of the land and building, relieving congestion in our large centres of population, and contributing to the health and well-being of the community.

### Imperial and International Relations.

**I**N the early part of the year the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues were summoned to attend the sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference, which were called to consider matters of vital moment relating to the conduct of the War, the terms of Peace, and after-war conditions. They spent several weeks in Great Britain this last summer for this purpose and conclusions were reached which ensured a closer co-operation in these vital matters.

During recent weeks in answer to another call, the Prime Minister and others of his colleagues have been in Great Britain preparing for the work of the Peace Conference. Everyone recognizes that this Conference will be one of the most momentous gatherings ever convened. It must re-draw the map of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Islands of the Sea, and lay down principles affecting the welfare of our humanity which may have a decisive influence on the whole course of human history. In the work and conclusions of this Conference, Canada has a deep and vital interest. We are confident that through the efforts of the Prime Minister Canada's status as one of the nations forming part of the British Commonwealth, will receive new recognition and that she will have representation at the Conference consistent with the contribution she has made in this great struggle. Canada's voice will be heard among the nations of the world in support of the principles for which our men have so bravely fought and nobly died. Canada will stand for a just Peace and for the formation of a League of Nations to preserve it.

### Record of Achievement.

**I**N addition to the foregoing and the many other important problems with which the Government has been called upon to deal during the year, all the administrative work of the Government, such as is necessary and incidental to the conduct of the affairs of the nation in times of Peace, has been carried on. I ask you with all confidence: In what year of Canadian history and under what administration, whether Liberal or Conservative, can you point to a record of legislative and administrative work and achievement which will surpass that of the Union Government during the year which has just closed?

In considering the record of the year it is also necessary to bear in mind the conditions existing in Canada prior to the formation of Union Government, and the difficulties which faced the Government when it was formed. You will recall that voluntary recruiting had not only fallen off, but voluntary appeals no longer elicited any adequate response. Party feeling was more acute than at any

period since the war broke out, and racial differences were becoming increasingly manifest. Unrest and dissatisfaction existed everywhere, and there was a general demand throughout Canada for more aggressive measures on the part of the Government, particularly a demand that the Militia Act should be put into operation. The Press of Canada, and particularly the Liberal Press, demanded such action and called for a union of the political forces of the country in order adequately to reinforce our men overseas. Under these conditions the Government of Sir Robert Borden introduced into Parliament a Bill for compulsory military service and proposed the formation of a Union Government to enforce this law. The vote in the House of Commons on the Bill, which was a fair indication of the opinion of the country, showed that the majority of the people, Liberal and Conservative alike, in all the Provinces of Canada, save Quebec, were in favour of compulsory military service and that the people of Quebec were opposed

### Union of Political Forces Necessary.

**I**T was manifest not only to the Prime Minister, but to thoughtful men throughout Canada, that by a union of political forces and by such a union alone, could adequate reinforcements for our troops be assured and Canada's continued war effort sustained. It was for this purpose primarily that Union Government was formed. Union Government was not formed that additional favours might be conferred upon the people. Party Governments could promise to do that. Union Government was necessary because new obligations must be imposed upon the people, new sacrifices demanded; obligations rendered necessary by Canada's part in the war, and obligations which no Party Government would willingly impose. It was inevitable that many people should resent the curtailment of their liberties, the limitation of their rights, and the imposition of new and onerous obligations, even during a world war; and the Union Government in carrying out the policies which it was formed to execute has undoubtedly offended some people. This should be a cause for commendation rather than a ground for adverse criticism. If unnecessary hardships have been occasioned by the administration of some of the laws, it is to be regretted; but for the obligations imposed and the sacrifices demanded of the Canadian people, the Government has no apologies to make.

While the Armistice has been signed, and we believe the fighting is over, our country is at war until the articles of Peace have been completed and ratified. Many difficult problems must be adjusted and settled among the Allies themselves and between the Allies and their enemies before this can be done. Our fighting forces are marching through Germany and they will form part of the army of occupation during the Armistice in order to guarantee that the sacrifices already made shall not have been made in vain, and that when the peace terms are finally settled Germany shall carry them out. It is our intention to stand behind and support our victorious troops until their work in Europe is completed and they return to Canada and resume their place in the civil life of the country. No appeals to Party or Party prejudice will cause us to hesitate or



waver in the performance of this imperative duty. The Union Government will "carry on."

The problems which will face us during the coming year are as grave and difficult of solution as those which faced us in the year that is just closing, and never was unity of national effort more important or more urgent than at this present time. There are some, however, who apparently think they can best serve their country by seeking to divide the people into hostile groups on religious and racial lines. One deeply regrets the necessity for referring to questions upon which men differ at a time when we should all be endeavouring to co-operate in the national interest; but if men will not co-operate but on the contrary persist in their misrepresentations, the truth must be told.

### Mr. Bourassa and "Le Devoir."

WHEN in Montreal on Thursday last, Mr. Bourassa's paper, "Le Devoir," demanded that I should seize the opportunity to apologise for what it described as "the calumnious statements made at North Bay nearly a year ago on the French-speaking clergy of Canada." An address to a Canadian Club was not the place to deal with such a question; an address to my own constituents is. Ever since my address at North Bay in December of last year, in which I pointed out Mr. Bourassa's attitude to the war and the position of his supporters, lay and clerical, his paper has not ceased its attacks upon me; and his supporters in this Province, and possibly some who have been misled by them, have followed his example. While the war was being waged and reinforcements were necessary, I ignored all these attacks, as it was thought a discussion of the position and attitude of Mr. Bourassa and his supporters in Quebec would not make easier the enforcement of the Military Service Act. What the country needed most was men. The situation is now changed; reinforcements are no longer needed, and as these misrepresentations continue in both Provinces, I propose to deal briefly with the matter tonight. What was my North Bay address, and what was the occasion of its delivery? In that address I discussed some of the momentous issues the people were to be called upon to decide in the election, and in the course of the address reviewed the attitude of Quebec toward the war, toward compulsory military service, and toward Union Government, and I placed upon Mr. Bourassa's shoulders and that of his supporters a substantial share of the responsibility for the then existing conditions and sentiment.

The substance of my statement about "the French-speaking clergy" in Quebec, was that the majority of them were supporters of Mr. Bourassa in his attitude on the war, and that in the course they were pursuing they were undermining Canada's strength in the struggle. I thought so then, I think so now; for the members of the French-speaking clergy in the Province of Quebec, whether the preaching clergy or members of the religious orders, who wholeheartedly supported Canada's war effort, I have the highest respect. My only regret is that they constituted the minority rather than the majority of the clergy, and that Mr. Bourassa and the majority which supported him dominated the whole situation.

I am at a loss to know whether Mr. Bourassa and those who think with him find fault with my stating that the clergy were his supporters or with my venturing to make any reference to the clergy at all. That the majority were Mr. Bourassa's supporters he would be the last to deny. If their objection was to my discussing the question at all, then I can only say that this country does not, and will not, recognize any immunity of the clergy from just and fair criticism of their acts as citizens or residents of Canada. In order, however, to make political capital and stir up religious and racial feeling against Union Government, it is suggested that my references covered the members of religious orders who were French reservists or liable to military service under the French law, and who when called to the colours by their Government returned to France and fought as members of the French Army. My references were not to men who had gone forth to fight, but to men who stayed at home and who were in the Province of Quebec during the war, supporting Mr. Bourassa. Of the men who went forth to fight none can speak in too high terms.

At the time I spoke at North Bay I was not aware that the French law of compulsory Military Service covered members of the French-speaking clergy of military age who had come to Canada, and who remained citizens of France; that they were obligated by this law to return to France for Military Service; and that those who were physically fit, and were not exempted temporarily or otherwise, did return to France when called by their Government to do so. As I did not know this, I could not specially refer to their service, but my attitude to all who went forth to fight was clearly shown by my reference to the clergy of France. If I had known of the position of these members of the French clergy I should have paid a tribute to them but I also should have pointed out how privileged were the clergy under our law of compulsory military service, as compared with that of France, and that this imposed an additional obligation upon them to respond to the call of Canada, and to oppose and not to support Mr. Bourassa in his attitude toward Canada's participation in the war, an obligation to do all in their power to aid in the prosecution of the war for human freedom, and to support, and not to oppose, our Military Service Law, as the great majority of them were doing. Again I repeat, my references at North Bay were not to the men who had gone forth to fight, but to the men who stayed at home, men who were in the Province of Quebec during the war, supporting Mr. Bourassa.

The trouble is, not that I misrepresented anybody, but that I told the truth about the situation then existing in the Province of Quebec. One explanation of the campaign of misrepresentation now being pursued by Mr. Bourassa and those associated with him in this Province is that they hope by representing that their faith is attacked, and by posing as defenders of that faith, to unite behind them in one party, for political purposes, and political action, all those who share their religious views. The commonsense and patriotism of those to whom they are appealing will prevent their success, but they surely cannot be ignorant of the gravity of such a course, and of the consequences which would inevitably follow such action. There is one platform on which all patriotic citizens, irrespective of race or creed, can stand, and that is on the platform

of our common Canadian citizenship and the recognition of the obligation of each to serve the State.

### Absurd and Idle Tales.

WILL you pardon me if I refer for a few minutes to some other absurd and idle tales which the opponents of Union Government have been circulating in this Riding, and which I hear are still passing current in some quarters. While the war was on one simply ignored all these tales, just as one ignored Mr. Bourassa's and his friends' misrepresentations. They were obviously manufactured for political purposes and were designed to divert our attention and energies from the supreme task we had in hand. Some of the stories relate to my work as Leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario before I entered the Union Government, and are, therefore, wholly irrelevant to present day issues. But as they are being circulated throughout the Riding in the hope, no doubt, of alienating support *from* the Government, I shall refer to a few of them as illustrations of how absurd and false they are.

One story is that when I was asked to become Leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario I required that a Committee should be appointed to raise a fund to guarantee me against any loss while engaged in work as a Provincial Leader. This statement is a pure invention. The truth is that when the Committee of Members of the Ontario Legislature waited upon me to ask me if I would accept the leadership of the Provincial Liberal Party, Mr. Bowman, the Chief Whip, stated that he was authorized to guarantee me a salary of \$5,000 a year if I would accept the leadership. There is no salary attached to the position of Leader of the Opposition in Ontario as there is at Ottawa. I agreed to consider the offer of the Leadership, but only on the condition that no salary should be attached; and during the whole time I was Leader I never received one cent of compensation from any source whatever in respect of my work as Leader. On the contrary the acceptance of the position meant the loss to me of several thousand dollars a year in diminished income, because of the time spent in the public service. I claim no special credit for this, I only mention it to show how absurd and untrue the story is. Some months after I became Leader, and after the Liberal Party in Ontario had adopted an advanced social programme, including the abolition of the bar as one of its important features, a fund was created to provide the salary and expenses of a secretary and office assistants to promote the interests and the policies of the Provincial Liberal Party under my leadership. When later an organizing secretary was appointed his work was carried on under the supervision of Mr. Bowman, Chief Whip of the Liberal Party. Needless to add, I received no compensation from that fund.

Another story, equally untrue, circulated among a different class in the community, but for the same ulterior purpose, is that Sir Robert Borden secured my consent to enter Union Government by promising Dominion Prohibition, and that I stipulated that the Government should enact Dominion Prohibition as a condition of my entering the Government. Such a stipulation would have been quite proper if I had thought it the most important issue at that time, but I did not, and the fact is that the question was never

mentioned between Sir Robert Borden and myself, or so far as I know between Sir Robert and any of my colleagues, during the negotiations for Union Government. It was mentioned by Sir Robert himself a short time after Union Government was formed, when he submitted to us the memorial requesting Dominion Prohibition presented to him in the summer of 1917 by the Dominion Prohibition Association, and which he then promised would be considered after a Union Government was formed. I frankly recognize that from the date the Liberal Party in Ontario adopted the policy of the abolition of the bar, the liquor interests and the politicians in the Liberal Party who sympathized with them, or wanted their votes, were opposed to me; and these same politicians were opposed and are opposed to Union Government.

The last of these stories to which I shall refer is that the Liberals who entered Union Government were guilty of treason to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and that I entered Union Government because I was disappointed that I could not take the place of Sir Wilfrid as Leader of the Liberal Party in the Dominion. If it be possible, this is even more absurd and untrue than the other stories, as a reference to Sir Wilfrid himself would show. No one knows better than Sir Wilfrid how untrue such a statement is. As however, the question has not only been raised, but opponents are persistent in circulating the story with a view of alienating support from the Government, I shall briefly review the facts so far as I am concerned.

On more than one occasion while I was Leader of the Provincial Liberal Party I found myself unable to agree with Sir Wilfrid on grave matters of public policy. But I have always gone to him first, presented my views, my reasons for them; and when we could not agree we agreed to disagree. The two questions of paramount importance upon which we were unable to agree were Bilingual Schools and Canada's war policy.

### The Bilingual Question.

THE Bilingual question related to schools in the Province of Ontario, and was within the sole jurisdiction of the Legislature of the Province. The Dominion could not over-ride or modify the action of the Province, and interference by the Dominion could only accentuate religious and racial feeling in the Province and revive the grave conditions which Confederation was formed to avoid. When, therefore, it came to my knowledge in the early part of the year 1916 that Sir Wilfrid was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Provincial Liberal Party on this question, and that he contemplated introducing a resolution into the Federal Parliament dealing with Bilingual Schools in Ontario, I felt it my duty to represent to him that this was a matter for the people of Ontario and the people of Ontario alone to settle; that for the Federal Parliament to attempt to interfere would be a violation of the traditional Liberal policy of respect for Provincial rights upon which Sir Oliver Mowat had stood during the whole period of his Premiership; and that it would tend to emphasize racial and religious differences within the Province and was therefore prejudicial to the national interests; that if such a course were pursued, undoubtedly it would prejudice the position of the Provincial Liberal Party, and would

also, in my opinion, prejudice the position of the Federal Liberal Party in Ontario and the other English-speaking Provinces.

I, therefore, urged as strongly as I could, but without success, that a resolution should not be introduced into the Federal Parliament. The fact was that Mr. Bourassa was leading an agitation in the Province of Quebec on this question, and influential forces were behind him; and all the persuasive power that English-speaking Liberals could bring to bear upon Sir Wilfrid was not sufficient to induce him to desist from bringing this question into the Federal arena. I could see no reason why Mr. Bourassa and his Nationalist agitation should influence or determine the policy of the Liberal Party of Ontario, and I, therefore, frankly told Sir Wilfrid that I could not approve or support him in the policy he was pursuing. When the vote came on the resolution, the Western Liberals all voted against it, showing that they entertained similar views. The result of this action was to consolidate Quebec behind Sir Wilfrid and to alienate the support of a large number of English-speaking Liberals, and to embarrass the Liberal Party in Ontario.

Subsequently in the year 1917, when the Provincial Government of Ontario introduced bills into the legislature to compel the Ottawa Separate School Board to carry out the law, I found myself unable to agree with Sir Wilfrid's view that these bills should be opposed by my colleagues and myself in the Provincial Legislature. You will recall that the dispute in the City of Ottawa grew out of the differences of opinion between the English-speaking and French-speaking Roman Catholics in that City, in reference to the teaching of English in the schools under the charge of the Separate School Board. The action taken by the Provincial Government to compel the Separate School Board of Ottawa to obey the law, was taken at the urgent request of the representatives of the Irish-Catholic Separate School supporters in the City of Ottawa. While some other procedure might have aroused less controversy and accomplished better results, the situation was an extremely difficult one. The law should have been obeyed by the Separate School Board. They were not obeying it. The Government was responsible for the enforcement of the law, and my colleagues and I were not prepared to put ourselves in the position of appearing to defend or condone the action of the Separate School Board in refusing to obey the law. We, therefore, declined to oppose the legislation.

### Canada's War Policy.

THE other important question on which I found myself compelled to differ from Sir Wilfrid Laurier was on Canada's war policy. From the very outset of the war it was obvious that it was a life and death struggle for Democracy—that human Liberty was in grave peril, that military Autocracy was making its last supreme effort to recover the place it had lost as the dominating power in Europe and the world. All that Liberalism had fought for or achieved in the democratic countries of the world was put in jeopardy, and if there ever was a struggle which should have appealed to true Liberals in every land, regardless of the name by which they were called, it was this. All other questions affecting

Liberalism were of minor importance in comparison; for if we failed in winning the war, as Sir Wilfrid himself said, nothing else mattered.

Because of the supreme importance of this issue, I believe I was never truer to the real interests of Liberalism and of Canada than when I was doing everything in my power to assist in Canada's war effort. When, therefore, voluntary enlistment failed, and failed to my own personal knowledge, to produce the reinforcements required, like other Liberals I did not hesitate to support the application of the principle of compulsory military service already embodied in our Militia Act, and the creation of a national Government to vigorously prosecute the war, a policy which Liberals in all democratic countries have wholeheartedly supported.

Before advocating a union of the political forces, however, I saw Sir Wilfrid as early as January, 1917, and laid the whole situation before him as I saw it. This was months before Sir Robert Borden proposed compulsory military service or Union Government. After such proposals were made they were fully discussed with Sir Wilfrid, but he would not agree to either of them. It was claimed by Sir Wilfrid and others that voluntary enlistment had not had a fair trial. We asked, if all joined in a new campaign of voluntary recruiting, could we be assured that Quebec would contribute her quota of 100,000 men, or whatever number might be needed? Sir Wilfrid could not promise us this. We asked, if a voluntary recruiting campaign is undertaken and after all reasonable efforts are put forth we find we are unable to get the men necessary to reinforce our battalions at the front, will you then agree to compulsory military service? He replied, no, he could not. In this respect Sir Wilfrid was consistent; he would not agree to compulsory military service under any conditions, near or remote, to secure men for service in this war.

We were, therefore, compelled to face the possibility of our ranks being depleted, our men at the front denied the support necessary to their continued success, and Canada finally being compelled to drop out of the war when our reserves were exhausted, if we continued to follow Sir Wilfrid's leadership. We pointed out to Sir Wilfrid that if this course were persisted in such a policy meant that the Liberal Party would be split in two, as on this issue we could not subordinate our views to his; but this did not modify his stand at all. He said he must take his course; we must take ours. Every Liberal was anxious beyond measure that Sir Wilfrid should continue to lead a united party and every effort was put forth to induce him to take a position on which English-speaking Liberals could stand, and at the same time be true to their convictions, but without success.

### Liberals and Union Government.

IT was only after the fullest and frankest discussion and repeated conferences with Sir Wilfrid, extending not only for weeks, but for months, in which it became evident that agreement was impossible, that a group of Liberals from the different Provinces agreed to the formation of a Union Government. We were compelled to choose between standing by our convictions and what we believed to be our duty to Canada and the men overseas, or of

repudiating these for the sake of so-called party uniformity. There was only one course for honest men to take, that was to stand by their convictions. I took that course, and that is why, and the only reason why, I am in Union Government. Neither the Liberals who entered Union Government, nor their Conservative colleagues, were asked to sacrifice any of their principles, and they sacrificed none; but they did agree to unite in devoting their energies to the supreme tasks which faced Canada at that time, and which were set forth in a statement issued by the Prime Minister after Union Government was formed. The course we pursued was approved by almost all the leading Liberal newspapers of Canada and by the Liberal Prime Ministers in every Province of Canada save Quebec.

For the course I then took I have no apologies to make, but if for the sake of Party uniformity I had failed to follow my convictions, if I had refused to stand by the men overseas, I or any other public man similarly situated would have deserved to forfeit the confidence of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens.

### George Brown and Confederation.

THE position of the Liberal Party in 1917 bore a striking analogy to that of the Liberal Party in 1864, immediately prior to Confederation, when Brown and Dorion were the most outstanding leaders—Brown from Ontario, Dorion from Quebec. Brown believed Canadian Confederation was essential to the solution of Canada's existing constitutional difficulties and to the safeguarding of Canada's future, and that the way to bring it about under the then existing conditions was to join with Sir John Macdonald in the formation of a Coalition Government. On the other hand, Dorion, who led the Liberals from the Province of Quebec, was strongly opposed to Coalition and Confederation. The relations between George Brown and Sir John Macdonald were probably more strained than have ever existed between any other two great political leaders in Canada. There was a strong personal hostility between them, so much so that they did not speak to each other. George Brown and the Liberals who thought with him had to face the issue—whether Party unity and personal feelings or the national interest should be the paramount consideration. They chose, and rightly chose, the national interest; and George Brown and two of his colleagues from Ontario, Oliver Mowat and William MacDougall, entered the Government of Sir John Macdonald to bring about Confederation, while Mr. Dorion and his colleagues from the Province of Quebec, assisted by dissentient Liberals from Ontario, opposed the Coalition and Confederation. It was a case where the viewpoint of the Ontario and Quebec Liberals differed. The Ontario viewpoint prevailed, and who is not profoundly grateful for the part played by George Brown and the men who followed him, and who by their action made Confederation possible? To-day the people of Quebec unite with those of Ontario in acclaiming George Brown as one of Canada's greatest political leaders.

## Graver Issue than Confederation.

**I**N 1917 the people of Canada faced a much graver issue than Confederation. It involved not only the future of Confederation, but Canada's part in the struggle for human liberty throughout the world. Without compulsory military service our troops could not be reinforced adequately, and without a union of political forces compulsory military service could not be carried into effect. As I have already stated, the great majority of the English-speaking Liberal members of the House of Commons, and the Liberal leaders from every Province of Canada, save Quebec, approved compulsory military service and Union Government. Sir Wilfrid and the leaders from Quebec opposed. The Liberal leaders from the other Provinces, had to face the issue of whether party unity and personal considerations or the national interests should be paramount. They chose as Brown did to place national interests first. History has already justified and more than justified Brown and Mowat's stand in 1864. It will equally justify the stand of the English-speaking Liberals of 1917.

Surely it should be possible, in the face of the grave problems which we are now facing, for men to subordinate their party prejudices to the national interests, forget their differences for the time being, and move forward as a united people. During this past year Canada has made a great contribution to the overthrow of Prussian military autocracy and the re-establishment of human Liberty in the world. We have also laid anew the foundations of Canadian national unity on the solid basis of the common obligation of every citizen to serve the state in the hour of his country's need. These are great achievements, but we must now address ourselves to even more difficult tasks, that of bringing back our soldiers from overseas and restoring them to civil life, and of applying the principles of Democracy and Justice for which our men have sacrificed so much, to the solution of our own domestic problems.